

Spanish Dialects of Miami and Perceptions of News Media

An Honors Thesis (HONR 499)

by

Bailey Shelton

Thesis Advisor

Terry Heifetz

**Ball State University
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Abstract

Miami, Florida is unique among cities of the United States for its diverse linguistic landscape. Unlike other U.S. cities, Miami is known for its majority bilingual population which stretches across all socioeconomic statuses. At the same time, Miami is one of the largest news markets in the country, and its Spanish news outlets cater to much of Latin America as well as its local region of South Florida. I examine linguistic diversity in word connotation and word association for the Miami area. I also examine how two of Miami's major news outlets are currently catering to their audiences via social media outlets. I then compare the outlets to one another for commonalities and differences through a journalistic and sociolinguistic lense.

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Process Analysis Statement

This thesis originated from the two schools of thought in language that I most focused on during my time at Ball State: sociolinguistic thought and journalistic application. Through my journalism classes, we were trained in the Associated Press stylebook and taught standard practices of the industry. In my linguistics classes, we were taught about the origins of language, language's inherently arbitrary nature, and the purpose that language standardization serves in certain social situations. What I found most interesting about these two perspectives was that they rarely interacted or collaborated with one another. This thesis serves to experiment with the marriage of these two concepts.

In linguistics, an area I found most interesting was dialectal variation, especially within small geographic areas. The example most often used comes from New York City, where many proud communities come together in one densely populated area. Still, these groups of Jewish, Irish, Chinese, etc. Americans all retain elements of their dialect. The language contact does not melt together their linguistic features because the way they speak is a form of pride and cultural heritage.

In journalism, being seen as an outsider for the way you use language can make you seem like you don't know what you're talking about. For example, Indiana natives would never trust anyone who pronounces Notre Dame [notrə dam] to accurately report the college football scores.

For this research, I wanted to experiment with how linguists could potentially learn about dialectal variety within a singular news market. I chose Miami because it is known for being a bilingual American city and for its diverse population of native speakers from all parts of Latin America. For the second part of this thesis, I wanted to examine how certain Miami journalists were already talking to their audiences.

The news organization analysis was heavily influenced by Ball State's NEWS 233 and JOUR 182 courses, which dive into the analytics and online content strategy side of journalism. These classes teach journalism students to think critically about how they interact with their audience through social media, web content and broadcasting, which is the primary place most news consumers come into contact with journalists.

The biggest challenge in this project was my personal lack of experience with sociolinguistic research. Although I studied Linguistics and Spanish during my education at Ball State, I never had a course that expected me to conduct formal sociolinguistic research. So, self-motivated in-field training was very much a trial by fire; then I added an element of practical application to it, this thesis became incredibly complex.

It is important to note that the Coronavirus hit the continental United States in the midst of this thesis, so while there is no explicit discussion of the impact COVID-19 has had on reporting in the Miami area, it goes without saying that the journalism industry has felt the effects of this global event.

Thesis Part 1: Language Research

Introduction

There are more Spanish speakers in America than there ever have been before. In 2017, Pew Research Center reported that the Hispanic population in the United States had reached an all-time high at 58 million people as of 2016, with the majority of this group located in California and the largest growing population in Texas (Flores, 2017). However, immigration from Spanish-speaking countries has been happening in the United States almost since the beginning of the country's history. As mentioned by Rivera-Mills et al., the impact of decades of migrant workers and laborers from braceros programs have created pockets of Spanish-speaking communities throughout the continental United States (Rivera-Mills, 2019). These communities, in far reaching towns like that of rural Oregon, are already well-established, with some Spanish speakers identifying as fourth or fifth generation Americans.

However, as Carter (2014) summarizes, U.S. Latinos have been frequently characterized as "invaders" and "criminals," and oftentimes these negative stereotypes or overgeneralizations are "uncritically accepted by non-Latinos but also get internalized by US Latinos" (Carter, 2014, p.212). The aforementioned "U.S. Latinos" can often be identified through non-linguistic characteristics, such as skin color or occupation. Oftentimes the stigma of the language is what comes across the most. Even when the language being spoken is English, Latin American accents and other non-standard forms of English are seen as "inferior" (Lippi-Greene, 2011).

Although, as is mentioned by Carter (2014), the creation of a general "Latino" cultural identity to describe a large group of nationalities in the United States can often "marginalize or devalue their ethnolinguistic identities" (p. 210). For example, although the same groups of speakers are seen as nearly identical within the context of the United States, research conducted in San Juan, Puerto Rico indicates that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans have their own determined phonetic factors to distinguish themselves from the other (Büdenbender, 2017). Budenbender (2017) cites part of the reason for this distinction as a social one. Dominican immigrants often hold more working class or low-income jobs within San Juan, so their language is seen as lesser, much in the same way that English speakers in the continental United States look down on speakers of Non-Standard American English.

This Spanish-language discrimination has also historically been present within continental U.S. cities like Miami, where research has been conducted on Miami Cuban perceptions of different dialects of Spanish (Alfarez, 2002). When asked to rank different accents on a Likert scale of correctness as well as a scale of pleasantness, first and second wave Cubans ranked themselves as second most correct and pleasant under Peninsular European Spanish. They also ranked their closest counterparts, Puerto Rican, Dominican and Mexican Spanish, as the least correct or pleasant.

Miami is a unique case in bilingual American cities. As Carter and Lynch (2015) explain, “unlike in other major U.S. cities, the prevalence of Spanish in Miami extends across all socioeconomic strata” (p. 372). Their research identifies the 2010 census as a source which shows Spanish speakers as the majority across most areas of Miami-Dade County. In fact, there is some expectation that Spanish is necessary to not only fit into the community but also to be eligible for certain jobs where bosses or clients may only interact in Spanish (Carter & Lynch, 2015).

There is also concern about language maintenance over time and whether or not the continued use of Spanish in Miami requires a constant influx of contact speakers (Carter & Lynch, 2015). Younger generations were already showing a preference toward English media and use of English among their peers in the 1980s. That has only continued in the modern day. Linguists and Miami locals constantly fear language loss in the Miami community, especially because there is already a documented primary language shift in second and third generation Miami-born Spanish speakers (Carter & Lynch, 2015).

Some of this language shift can be attributed to the English dominant governing of the state and country in which Miami resides. Institutions like the government or educational system generally act as a standardizing force of language, socially pushing speakers to one “right” way of speaking (Cotter, 2010).

In Miami’s case, Carter & Lynch (2018) assert, “despite an indisputable pattern of cross-generational shift to English dominance among second- and third-generation speakers in Miami, we can affirm that Spanish is indisputably a primary language of the city, second only to English in institutional and official terms” (p.314). Some of the largest practitioners of standardized written Spanish in the Miami area are the journalists, who produce news and feature content which is then distributed across Miami-Dade County and beyond. Cotter (2010) describes the language of media as pulling from a socially motivated standard of correctness. There is not a clearly chosen “right” Spanish dialect in the Miami area.

The makeup of Miami is a naturally diverse one which has been brought about by its coastal position in South Florida. Carter and Lynch said, “one could argue that the current prevailing sociolinguistic conditions of Miami merely reflect the ongoing nature of what Miami has always been since its inception: a city of great diversity positioned at the doorstep of the Caribbean and Spanish-speaking Latin America.” (Carter & Lynch 2018, p.314)

Because of the influence of many different dialects on Spanish speakers within the city of Miami over time, this diverse metropolitan area has a high level of linguistic diversity even within the Spanish language. This study hopes to analyze the variation in word connotation and word association that might already exist between some of these groups.

Methods

This survey was looking for specific data on dialect variation in word connotation and word association. The research conducted here was originally intended to be applied in direct relation to the journalism field, so words were chosen from three articles published by a leading Spanish news outlet in the Miami area, Telemundo 51 (WSCV-TV).

This research was conducted in two parts. After the first round of data was collected, it became obvious that the survey and data collection methods needed to be reconsidered, which will be detailed below and addressed again in the Discussion section.

The first round of data collection was a survey conducted entirely online through Qualtrics, which was advertised through Facebook to people above the age of 18 within the Miami area. It had three segments: demographic questions, general connotation and word association questions, and connotation and word association questions based around a news article. The second round of data collection was also a survey through Qualtrics, but the data collected for this portion was done in-person by the principal investigator. The format of this survey was shortened to include only demographic questions and connotation and word association questions. The principal investigator took notes after each encounter for comments and observations participants made during the survey.

The original focus of this study was Cuban, Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish in the Miami area. However no specific steps were taken to seek out these groups over other Spanish speakers. Miami Cubans were the only group of these three to respond in large enough numbers and other groups came to the forefront.

Subjects

This study focused on Spanish speakers within 50 miles of downtown Miami. All participants in both parts of the study were over the age of 18. In the first part, participants ranged in age 49 to 76, and consisted of 9 women and 1 man. However, few participants completed the survey, and substantial results came from only 8 respondents. That group consisted of 7 women and 1 man between the ages of 56 and 76. In the second part, participants ranged in age from 19 to 77, with the majority being between the ages of 19 and 22. This younger skew can be attributed to the principal investigator collecting a large number of survey results in Coral Gables, which is the location of the University of Miami. 19 participants were women, 12 were men and 1 did not identify themselves as either.

Procedures

All questions and the consent form for this research were written in Spanish. Each survey began by asking questions of age, sex, education, income, cultural identity,

political leaning and comprehension of written and spoken language. This survey was created with the purpose of specifically exploring word connotation and word association of the Spanish language within media coverage. Therefore, the words chosen came from three different video stories and their accompanying articles, all of which were published by Telemundo 51 in 2019. The articles were about a Cuban photographer that faced potential deportation, the potential end of the Dreamer Act, and relief for Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria hit. Words chosen were nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. They were often chosen because they correlated with key points in the article. For example, “golpeado” which means “punch” or “smack” and “sacudir” which can mean “to shake” were chosen from the Hurricane Maria article because both were used to describe how Hurricane Maria hit the Island of Puerto Rico. Both survey iterations used the same words, but differed in how they presented their questions.

Survey 1 used a Facebook advertisement to collect respondents for 20 days from December 8, 2019 to December 28, 2019. The call for participants was posted and boosted through the Ball State University Honors College page. The message was written entirely in Spanish. Participants were asked about connotation and word association, given a short article to read, and then asked connotation and word association questions in relation to the article. There were also a few questions about overall language perception, like “¿Qué cree usted que el autor dice de las personas de esta historia?” which translates to “What do you think the author is saying about the people in this article?”

In the first section, participants were asked questions of connotation for words randomly selected from the pool. They were only given two options, “positivo” or “negativo,” and then were asked to explain the reason for their answer. For questions of word association, respondents were asked to choose from a list of related words which ones they most associate with the given term. Related words were either synonyms or adjectives that inherently meant extremely good or extremely bad, like “corrupto” or “bueno.”

Participants were then expected to read an article or watch a video version of the same news story. After that, they were asked similarly formatted word connotation and word association questions based on that specific article and a few short response questions as mentioned above. Because so few respondents completed the survey in its entirety, the results from survey 1 reported below will be primarily qualitative.

For survey 2, respondents were approached in-person by the principal investigator between March 2, 2020 and March 5, 2020 in various locations around the Miami area, primarily including Coral Gables and the Wynwood Design District, but also various miscellaneous points around the city, including stops on public transit, and around the Miami-Dade County Courthouse. Participants were asked to fill out the brief survey on an iPad and were told that the process would take no more than ten minutes

of their time. The principal investigator answered questions about the study for participants as they arose. Notes were taken during and after participants responded, in order to catch organic qualitative data as it was offered.

The second survey eliminated a bulk of questions from its previous state and shifted question phrasing to help clarify what was being asked of participants. The survey was shortened to only the demographic questions, a set of connotation questions and a set of word association questions. Each participant was asked to respond to 15 randomly selected connotation questions and 5 randomly selected word association questions.

The connotation questions in survey 2 were changed so that respondents were asked, “De el 1 al 7, en su opinion que tan positiva es la palabra?” which is “From 1 to 7, in your opinion, how positive is the word?” They placed each word on a 7 point Likert scale from 1-“cosa mala” to 7-“cosa buena”, or from “good thing” to “bad thing”.

The word association questions were shifted to a free response option, where participants were asked to give three words they associate with each word. Respondents often asked if they could respond in English, and some also asked if they could give fewer than three words.

Results

Survey 1

Below is a chart that shows all first section connotation question responses.

Fig. 1 Survey 1 Word Connotation Responses

Respondent 1	Respondent 2	Respondent 3	Respondent 4
"vigencia" - positiva	"vigencia - positiva	cronista- positiva	"carcel" - negativa
No contiene negación	"Por la actualidad"	"Porque es el que escribe crónicas y me gusta la lectura"	"Castigo "
"siembra" - positiva	"arte" - positiva	aprobar - positiva	"adecuadamente" - positiva
No contiene negación	"Es un don divino!pintar ,cantar,escribir,actuar etc...nace con uno,también la Libertad lo es"	"Porque para mi significa pasar de grado, aprobar una asignatura."	"Porque nos dice que esta bien"
"reconocer" - positiva	"aplazamiento" - negativa	"aplazamiento" - ninguna respuesta	"otorgar" - positiva
no contiene sufijo negativo	"Lo que se piensa ,no se hace!"	"Depende de lo que se aplace."	"Dar"
"antecedentes" - positiva	"sacar" - ninguna respuesta	"mantener" - ninguna respuesta	"queja" - negativa
No contiene negación	"Sacar buenas notas,sacar dinero del banco..."	"depende de como se use. Se puede mantener la cordura, lo cual es bueno. O mantener la locura, lo cual no es bueno. Es decir, tiene que ver con permanencia."	"Porque significa que no gusta o está mal, pero también puede ayudar para mejorar"
"mantener" - positiva	"exilio" - negativa	"exilio" - ninguna respuesta	"político" - ninguna respuesta
no contiene sufijo negativo	"Porque la patria de uno, es la madre de uno"	"Depende. Dejar el país de uno nunca es bueno, pero si se salva la vida, es una excelente opción."	"Las dos"

Respondent 5	Respondent 6	Respondent 7	Respondent 8
“vigencia” - ninguna respuesta	“posibilidad” - negativa	“detener” - negativa	“vigencia” - positiva
“Depende en el contexto en que se aplique”	“Puede dudar”	“Porque significa que hizo en algo contra de la ley”	“Porque brinda una fecha especifica”
“detener” - ninguna respuesta	“carcel” - negativa	“carcel” - negativa	“adecuadamente” - positiva
“Depende en el contexto en que se aplique”	“Es estar encerrado”	“que no cumplio la ley”	“porque significa correctamente”
“curtido” - ninguna respuesta	“culpar” - negativa	“arte” - positiva	“otorgar” - positiva
“Depende en el contexto en que se aplique”	“No se puede culpar a nadie sin verificarlo”	“Significa una habilidad”	“porque significa dar /ofrecer”
“sacudir” - ninguna respuesta	“golpeados” - negativa	“duro” - negativa	“queja” - negativa
“Ni una ni la otra.”	“Golpes son malos “	“de caracter fuerte. “	“generalmente cuando una persona se queja es porque algo esta mal”
“mantener” - ninguna respuesta	“sacar” - positiva	“sacar” - negativa	“esperar” - negativa
“Ni una ni la otra. Es una simple palabra de uso común”	“Es poner fuera a alguien o algo”	“salir de algo malo”	“me hace pensar en impuntualidad”

Answers to connotation questions were not consistent among all respondents. For example, three participants were given the word “sacar.” One said the word was positive, another that it was negative and a third left the response blank, offering that the word can be used in multiple ways. They said, “Sacar buenas notas, sacar dinero del banco...” or, in English, “To get good grades, to take money from the bank...” The respondent is, in this case, linking connotation to context, acknowledging that one word can have multiple meanings and slants.

However, several people gave similar explanations to the same terms regardless of national origin. For example, two respondents said they saw “otorgar,” a verb meaning “to give,” as a positive word, and the reason given for both mentioned the more commonly used synonym “dar” as a definition for the term.

This is also a good example of another trend we see in the qualitative results. Most reasons respondents gave for their connotation responses were often synonyms or definitions to the word. Another example is when a respondent said the word “adecuadamente,” which could be translated to “adequately” in English, was positive, they explained it by saying, “porque significa correctamente,” or “because it means correctly.”

It is also important to note that a few respondents elected to choose neither positive nor negative in this question to signify a neutral or flexible option. This seemed

to mean that the word could be either neither or both depending on context, which was usually explained in their answers.

Fig. 2 Survey 1 Word Association Responses

Exilio (exile)	options: criminal, refugiado, abandono, desterrar, humilde (criminal, refugee, neglected, to exile, misfortune, humility)
5 - refugiado , 1 - desterrar	
Político (politician)	options: representativo, sincero, justo, comunidad, corrupcion, injusto (representative, sincere, just, community, corruption, unjust)
4 - representativo , 2 - comunidad	
Error (error)	options: olvidar, problema, administración, oficina, malintencionado, sincero (to forget, problem, administration, office, malintent, sincere)
1 - olvidar , 1 - problema	
Detener (to detain)	options: cárcel, aeropuerto, terminar, guardia, policía, frontera (prison, airport, to end/finish, police department, police officer, border)
3 - terminar , 2 - carcel	
Vigencia (validity)	options: vigor, ley, observancia, verdad, fuerte, preguntas (vigor, law, observation, truth, strong, questions)
2 - observancia , 2 - vigor , 1 - ley	
Cifras Oficiales (figures)	options: error, administración, sesgado, sincero, los datos, exacto (error, administration, biased, sincere, data, exact)
3 - datos , 1 - administracion	
Peor (worst)	options: monstruos, terror, desastres, pesima, malo, supuesto (monsters, terror, disaster, awful/disastrous, bad, allegedly)
2 - malo , 1 - pesima , 1 - desastres	
Golpeados (hit)	options: puñetazo, boxeo, tormenta, malestar, desastres, arreglar (punch, boxing, storm, doing poorly, disasters, repair)
4 - puñetazo , 2 - boxeo , 1 - desastres	

As depicted in Figure 2, There were a few responses that held the clear majority, but most did not break away from the pack. There is a flaw in the question, “which of the following words do you most associate with the term?” Even if the pool of responses was large enough for a clear majority, the participants would still be choosing from a

limited pool of words. These responses show which words relate to each other most from the pool given, rather than which words are commonly associated with one another in general. For example, most respondents related the word “refugio” to the word “exilio” more than they did to the word “desterrar.” That is interesting because the word “desterrar” is the act of exiling and “exilio” is someone who has been exiled. So, the definitional connection was not as strong as the social connection where refugees are also being referred to as exiles.

Another interesting point to this data is that three of the same questions were asked after the article with slightly different results. In two instances, respondents changed their answers. As shown in Figure 3, the words “corrupcion” and “injusto” gained responses in this round. One of the participants, after reading the article about a Cuban photographer facing deportation, changed their answer from “representativo” to “injusto.” This could be because that respondent felt they were given context to the question.

Fig. 3 Survey 1 Post-Article Word Association Results

Error (<i>error</i>)	options: olvidar, problema, administración, oficina, malintencionado, sincero (to forget, problem, administration, office, malintent, sincere)
3 - problema , 1 - olvidar	
Político (<i>politician</i>)	options: representativo, sincero, justo, comunidad, corrupcion, injusto (representative, sincere, just, community, corruption, unjust)
1 - injusto , 1 - comunidad , 1 - corrupción , 1 - representativo	
Exilio (<i>exile</i>)	options: criminal, refugiado, abandono, desterrar, humilde (criminal, refugee, neglected, to exile, misfortune, humility)
3 - refugiado , 1 - desterrar	

Another shift doesn’t directly show in the data, but two of the respondents for the word “error” swapped their responses. One answered “olvidar” originally, and upon being asked again answered “problema.” A second respondent did the reverse, “problema” to “olvidar.”

Unfortunately, because so few respondents fully completed the survey, only one of the three articles yielded more than one response to the post-article questions, so we can only compare the answers for the article about the Cuban photographer who was facing potential deportation. There were four responses to these questions.

Context-based questions asked respondents what a word meant within a specific context pulled from the article, so for example one of the questions was, “Qué significa

"consagrar" en el contexto de "se ha consagrado como un cronista de Miami?" The rest followed a similar format. You can see a full list of questions and responses in Figure 4.

Fig. 4 Survey 1 Article-based word-in-context questions and responses

<p>Qué significa "exilio" en el contexto de "el exilio cubano"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grupo de personas que salimos de Cuba, por diferentes vías. Buscando la libertad. Huyendo del castrismo. • En el mi caso fue destierro! en de otros muchos cubanos dolor,muerte,falta de libertad, desarraigo, desastre, abuso. Podría estar hablando toda la vida de este tema. • Refugiado • Huir de un país por motivos políticos.
<p>Qué significa "consagrar" en el contexto de "se ha consagrado como un cronista de Miami"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Se ha dedicado...con pasión.. • Profesionalismo, triunfó • Dedicado • Que es muy bueno en lo que hace, tiene gran reputación, es respetado.
<p>Qué significa "cronista" en el contexto de "se ha consagrado como un cronista de Miami"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ha realizado su labor fotográfica describiendo un tiempo determinado, y continuando una historia. • Actualidad, social, económica, política, ect. • Escritor • Que cuenta las historias de Miami a través del lente de su cámara.

<p>Qué significa "siembra" en el contexto de "siembra la posibilidad de ir del aeropuerto directo a la cárcel"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Es una metáfora para mí, inadecuada. Pero se siembra marihuana, coca, el odio, el terror, el racismo, la violencia, etc. • No creo esa palabra se utilice bien. Siembra es más lógico usarla para relacionarla con la tierra. • Asegura • crea la posibilidad
<p>Qué significa "error" en el contexto de "se trató de error"?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Un fallo. • Error es algún trabajo mal hecho, ir a la cárcel se trata de un delito. • Mala interpretación • Eso mismo, que se equivoco.

One interesting point to the context-based questions was that two of the respondents criticized the writing of one of the chosen phrases. “Siembra,” which is a verb that often means “to sow” was used in the sentence “siembra la posibilidad de ir del aeropuerto directo a la cárcel,” which in English translates to “sows the possibility of going from the airport directly to prison.” It can be assumed that the word choice was meant to pictorialize the concept of tension or anticipation in its given context, as there are other words that more directly mean “to create.”

However, while all the respondents recognized that this was a figurative use of the word, two of the respondents openly criticized the choice of words. One said, “Es una metáfora para mí, inadecuada. Pero se siembra marihuana, coca, el odio, el terror, el racismo, la violencia, etc.” which translates to, “It’s a metaphor that, for me, is inadequate. But marijuana, coca, hatred, terror, racism, violence etc. can be planted.” So, from their explanation, “sowing a possibility” is not a strong enough metaphor to necessitate the word.

Another participant responded in saying, “ No creo esa palabra se utilice bien. Siembra es más lógico usarla para relacionarla con la tierra,” which means, “I don’t believe this word is used well. “Sowing” is more logically used in relation to the earth.” Notably, both of these respondents were Cubans in their 50s. One thought the word siembra could be used as part of a stronger metaphor, and the other thought it was too literal altogether.

Another interesting takeaway from this was the difference between the prior responses to questions about the word “error”. In the connotation and association questions, “error” was a bad thing or a problem, but when put into the context of someone being affiliated with “error”, there becomes an air of blame, someone that made the mistake. One respondent said “error es algún trabajo mal hecho,” “error is some job badly done.” Another, “mala interpretación” or “bad interpretation” indicates a relationship with the subject of the sentence given.

Survey 2

For groups of national origin had a large enough number of responses to look at their answers as a group: Cubans, Venezuelans, Argentinians and a fourth group that identified themselves as the more general label of “latinoamericano,” or Latin American. There were ten respondents that identified otherwise, either under country-related titles like Colombian, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Mexican and Costa Rican, or more general labels like “sudamericano” or “hispanoamericano.” None of these groups had more than one respondent, so comparing data as an example of the overall group would not have been valid.

For questions of word connotation, participants were asked to place words on a Likert scale from 1 to 7 of positivity, 1 being a “cosa mala,” or “bad thing,” 7 being a “cosa buena,” or “good thing.” 4 signified the word did not signify one or the other.

Figure 5 shows a rundown of results for word connotation. It should be noted that the Venezuelan respondents had fewer than 3 responses for each word, so the averages were not included as their own category. Likewise, all of the Argentinian respondents were given the same set of 15 words, so they only appear as their own category in the latter half of the graph.

Fig. 5 Survey 2 Average Results for Connotation Questions on a 7 Point Scale

	exilio	detener	criminales	vigencia	politico	error	representativo	esperar
Cubano	2	2.5	2.2	2	3.2	2.6	5.2	4.75
Latinoamericano	2.25	3	1	4.5	3	1.67	4.67	4
TOTAL	2.16	2.33	1.69	3.56	3.42	2.89	5.33	4.31

	posibilidad	siembra	duro	curtido	peor	arte	fotografia
Cubano	6.4	5.67	2.8	3.25	2	7	6.4
Latinoamericano	6	6.25	3.25	2.25	1.33	6	6
TOTAL	6.44	5.8	3.389	3.5	2.375	6.53	6.22

	consagrar	cronista	reconocer	carcel	antecedentes	aplazamiento	mantener
Argentino	5.67	5	6	1.5	4.67	3.33	5.67
Cubano	5.5	4.5	5.5	2.5	4	3.75	4.5
Latinoamericano	2	3	5.67	1.67	5.33	4.5	5.67
TOTAL	4.23	4	5.77	1.75	4.38	3.83	5.23

	sacudir	adecuadamente	cifras oficiales	aprobar	culpar	otorgar	golpeados	queja
Argentino	3.33	5	5.33	5	3	6	5.5	4.67
Cubano	4.5	5.75	4	6.25	2.25	4	1	1.75
Latinoamericano	5.5	6	4.33	5.33	4.33	5.5	3.33	4.33
TOTAL	3.83	5.54	4.25	5.62	2.77	4.67	2.45	3.17

It's important to note that certain words were seen as negative nearly across the board, with "criminal" and "carcel," words that mean "criminal" and "jail" in English, earning the lowest average scores. It's also important to note that two outliers of 7 shifted the average of the word "golpeado," as the median for this word's results was 1.

On the other hand, there were also words that were seen as inherently good across the board, like "arte", "posibilidad" and "fotografía." "Posibilidad," for example, only received one response that fell below a 6 or 7. In addition, for these three words, if the response was not inherently positive, it was a neutral 4. No participants saw these words as inherently negative.

For example, out of 13 responses, three people ranked "consagrar" meaning "consecrated" or "honored" below a 4. Two of those responses were a score of 1 and both of the 1s came from the latinoamericano section. Of the same vein, out of twelve responses, two of the three people that ranked "cifras oficiales," or "official documents" as positive rather than neutral were Argentinian.

On the other hand, of twelve responses, two people ranked the word "carcel" above a 1 or 2, and both of these respondents were Cubans claiming the word carcel as neutral. It is probably also worth mentioning that both of these respondents were above the age of 60, which potentially puts them in a different speaking group from later waves of Cuban immigrants.

Fig. 6 Survey 2 Word Association responses

**note: bolded responses indicate the majority for each word*

exilio	politico	error	detener	vigencia
apartado, antidemocrático, amparo, ayuda, banned, ciudadano, culpar, detenido, éxodo, éxodo, exilio, exit, familia, gobierno, gobierno, huir, inmigración, immigration, invasión, insolación, irse, político, político, separar, solo, refugio, refugio, refugio, refugio, refugee, solo	ajuda, ayudante, comunidad, comunismo, conservador, controversial, corrupto, corruptor, democracia, divididos, gobierno, gobierno, gobierno, grassroots movements, hipócrita, leyes, liberal, libertad, liars, mentira, molesta, negocios, noticias, opuesto, plata, presidente, protección, representante, representante, socialismo, votar	accidente, aprendizaje, bueno, ciencias, culpa, culpable, diferente, equivocación, falsa, failure, incorrecto, laboratorio, learn, malentendido, malfunción, malo, malo, malo, malo, matemáticas, mejorar, mistake, mistake, mistake, necesario, negativo, no bueno, oportunidad, oportunidad, problema, problema, redo, regresar, trial, varied	abstenerse, aprehensión, alto, arrest, carcel, carcel, carcel, carcel, carcel, Crime, crime, criminal, descompleto, esperar, estático, gobierno, juzgar, morar, injusticias, inmigración, inmigrante, miedo, necesario, parar, parar, parar, parar, parar, pausar, preso, problema, police, policia, prison, retener, stopped, tranquilo, wrongdoing	Actual, actualidad, actualizado, al dia, antes, continuo, edad mayor, en pie, establecer, existe ncia, ley, parlamento, perdurar, permanecer, politica, restante, tiempo, valides, verificable, vida, vigente

peor	cifras oficiales	golpeado	sacudir	queja
Bad, bajo, Condiciones precarias, empeorar, desafortunadamente, desvaluacion, desvalorado, difícil, dictadura, gobierno, heartbroken, horrible, horrible, horrible, ineficiente, inigualable, mal, mala, maldad, malo, malo, malo, malo, malo, Malo, malo, malo, malo, malo, malo, malísimo, malísimo, menos, menospreciado, muy mal, negativo, negativo, negatividad, no bueno, no bueno, no bueno, oportunidad, retroceso, socioeconómico, status, terrible, vengativo	Análisis, aprobación, asistencia, corrupcion, crime, data, datos, desastres, disproportionate, documentos, duda, estadísticas, estadísticas oficiales, estudio, gobierno, legal, legítimo, mentira, needed, noticias, números, números, opinión based, político, resultados, senso, social security, statistics, unfair, votación, voto	Abuso, accidente, adolorido, apabullado, arrebatado, boxeo, bruise, choque, coñaceado, Crimen, dolor, Deporte, estropeado, humillación, hurt, hurt, inpacto, maltratado, maltratado, pain, pain, paleado, pelea, reposo, sangre, sorrow, ufc, violencia	aflojar, agitar, agitar, agilizar, alejar, arena balanceo, batir, batuquear, cambiar, cambiar, casa, clean, cuerpo, desestabilizar, echar, escojer, eviction, forcejear, get rid of, home, immigration, jugar, let go, limpiar, mamá, mover, mover, mover, mover, mover, náusea, nice, pelear, peluca, ponte, ropa, sábana, sacudir, salpicar, shake, shocked, soltar, suerte, temblar, toalla, trabajo, vaselina, quitar	Alteracion, bad mood, Bad service, chisme, Complaint, Complain, comprehension, de mal humor, Frustracion, Mala, malo, Mamá, maestro, negativo, Odio, ordenar, Para de negar, pesado, Problema, problemas, Quedate, Quejar, reclamar, regaño, tonto

The most common word associated with *peor* was “malo” or “bad” with 16 separate responses (with some minor spelling and form variation), making it the most commonly agreed upon word association in the survey. Interestingly, it still received a higher average score on the Likert scale than four other words, “exilio”, “detener”, “criminal” and “carcel.” So, although a majority of respondents said this word was directly related to the Spanish word meaning “bad,” there were still words that were seen as worse on average.

For the word *golpeado*, there was no clear majority, but two Cuban respondents over the age of 65 answered with the term “maltratado,” which translates to “battered” or “abused” in English. This could be a dialectal difference linked to their age and national origin, but there is not enough data in this set to be certain.

Another interesting point is that while the word “politico” received a nearly neutral score of 3.42 in terms of its connotation, many of the words associated with it are generally seen as bad traits for a politician. Some examples include, “corrupto” or “corrupt” in English, “liars” and “mentira” which means “lie” and “hipocrita” meaning “hypocrite.” This seems to indicate that the relationship between word association and word connotation isn’t a direct one. It also signifies that speakers can recognize a word as generally neutral and simultaneously recognize its affiliation with non-neutral things.

Finally, the word “sacudir” received the widest array of responses, which fell primarily into categories of removal, fighting, cleaning and shaking. Many respondents mentioned “sacudir” having a wide variety of applications, so this variation made a lot of sense. The most common response, “mover,” is a synonym meaning to move, shift, wiggle or shake, but it usually only relates to physical motion rather than the figurative applications of *sacudir*.

Most common observations from speakers were asking for clarification on the structure of connotation questions. One respondent (24M) said, “you can say it both as a bad thing and a good thing.” Another (77F) asked for context in order to answer the question, “are we reading Marx or are we reading the Bible?” Some chose to omit answers for this reason; others decided simply to answer with a neutral 4. Only five respondents actively mentioned this as a challenge they were facing with the survey. Of these five, none of them skipped over the connotation or answered with universal neutrality.

Another common question the principal investigator received from younger respondents was “what does this word mean?” In these instances, the principal investigator suggested that the respondent skip the question and move on. These respondents usually mentioned feeling inadequate in terms of their Spanish vocabulary. One respondent (20F) said “my mom would probably know,” citing her mom as the main source of her Spanish language knowledge.

Discussion

The first round of survey results displayed many faults to the structure of this study which were addressed in its second iteration. The survey received very few participants and most of those participants did not complete the survey entirely. Another issue that appeared in the data was the structure of the connotation question as only offering “positive” or “negative” as responses. Multiple participants explained their answer as “it’s positive because there is no negation,” suggesting that the participants and the investigator were not understanding this question in the same way.

In response to these problems, the investigator shortened the study to only include questions of word connotation and word association, and then restructured both question types so that participants could respond in a straight-forward way.

For connotation questions, the question was restructured to include the phrase “en su opinion,” and the responses were placed on a 7 point Likert scale, creating the possibility of words being neutral, somewhat positive or negative, and extremely positive or negative. Labels for each end of the scale were also changed to “good thing” or “bad thing” to further separate responses from the structural concept of verb negation.

For word association questions, the answers were shifted from multiple choice to free response so that we can understand which words are associated with the terms rather than which ones from a limited list relate the most. Because of this change, we saw a more diverse range of responses, but we still saw distinct leaders emerge.

In survey 2, we saw clear extremes emerge with most respondents answering with 1 or 2 for certain terms and 6 or 7 for others. Because respondents agreed on average for certain words on the Likert scale, it can be assumed that most non-linguists do have a grasp of linguistic connotation and are able to identify where their own perception of language lands. This is especially interesting given the pushback from certain respondents saying that the connotation doesn’t make sense because words only hold positive or negative characteristics based on context.

However, it’s still possible that the connotation question could be improved upon. The feedback received on the importance of context reflects linguistic discourse as mentioned by Goodwin (1992). It would be interesting to see a further version of this study that takes context into account. For example, one term could be placed into a variety of different sentence structures and participants could be asked to rank connotations in comparison to one sentence versus the other. Vice versa, different words could be placed in the same general sentence and ranked in a similar fashion.

There are also some data points that could grow to be more substantial specifically in the realm of comparing dialects. With only around 30 respondents that spanned so many different nationalities, it was hard to compare the language of different groups. If this survey were to include a larger number of various demographics, the results might show more distinct conclusions.

Conclusion

There are clear consistencies in certain parts of Miami's Spanish speaking community. There is also some hint of variation that could very well stand across dialectal lines. While there are not enough respondents to securely state that trends in word association like the "maltratado" example are linked to one strain of Spanish over the other, there are enough diverse outliers to indicate that some opinions of word connotation and word association stray from the standard.

Thesis Part 2: Media Analysis

Introduction

The second phase of research and analysis for this thesis focuses specifically on how media outlets within Miami speak to their audiences online. Social media platforms are generally the most direct points of contact for journalists to speak with the people they write for every day. In examining how they use these platforms, we can begin to understand how they think about speaking to and engaging with their audiences.

Miami is well-covered in terms of Spanish news outlets, with two mainstream media channels (Telemundo and Univision), the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the country (El Nuevo Herald) and magazines like Imagen that distribute their issues of local arts and culture stories in Spanish throughout the city. This brief analysis only covers the top Spanish news station in the market, Telemundo 51, and El Nuevo Herald, which is most commonly known as the Spanish edition of the Miami Herald, but has a unique newsroom setup of Spanish-first reporters that makes it more than just a translated version of its English-language counterpart.

Part of the uniqueness of Miami's Spanish news outlets is the wide breadth of audiences that tune in to their content. As the city is an international hub for commerce, trade, art and culture, people from all around the world are interested in Miami news, making outlets in this market both local and international. They can cater to Miami-Dade County, South Florida, the continental United States, and most of the Spanish speaking world all at once.

For our purposes, we will be looking at how these two Spanish news outlets run their organization profiles as well as how their reporters interact online. The main topics of this analysis are the target audience, the language use from outlets and reporters, and the presence of audience interaction and/or engagement with the content being produced.

Media Analysis of Telemundo 51 (WSCV-TV)

Overall Station

Twitter: @Telemundo51

Follower Count: 48,559

Facebook: @Telemundo51

Follower Count: 1,378,532

YouTube: Telemundo 51 Miami

Subscriber Count: 15,200

Instagram: @Telemundo51

Follower Count: 445,000

Application: Telemundo 51

Ranked #167 in the app store under News, Rated 4.8 out of 5

Telemundo 51, otherwise known as WSCV-TV, is the local Telemundo-owned station for Miami-Dade County and is part of NBCUniversal's network of stations. It is also ranked by Nielsen as #1 in its market among all stations regardless of language during prime time hours. The station's news director, Helga Silva, was named News Director of the Year in 2019 by Broadcasting and Cable.

Broadcasting and Cable profiled Silva for her work. In the article, Silva was quoted saying her focus with the station has been on breaking news and weather coverage. She also mentioned part of the success of T51 in 2019 specifically can be attributed to the heightened need for coverage on topics of immigration from Latin America (Barman, 2019). With an increase in breaking news of this nature for Latinos in the United States, T51 had a home-field advantage because it is a Spanish speaking news outlet in an American port city known for its deeply rooted relationship with Latin America. The station made ample use of this advantage, and committed to covering those stories quickly and consistently.

Another quote from this article gives an indication of T51's target audience, "a main reason for the popularity of Telemundo 51, Silva said, is the depth in today's viewers, who range from monolingual to bilingual, and something she calls "the third generation," who "grow up involved and listening to TV that speaks another language." (Barman, 2019, par.13)

From this, we can pull three major audiences for T51. The first is monolingual Spanish speakers. Within Miami, their language is used primarily conversationally, with English as the dominant institutional language (Carter & Lynch, 2015). While Spanish speakers have an easier time navigating Miami as compared to most other parts of the United States, T51 is probably the most "official" or formal Spanish voice most monolingual viewers interact with on a regular basis. This can create a reliance and trust for monolingual viewers. They feel catered to because they are being spoken to directly, rather than a translation or subtitled version.

The second language group is bilingual viewers. These people on average can choose to watch the news in English or Spanish, but are likely to have a cultural link tying them to Spanish media, whether that's tuning in for coverage of their home country or for stories that are told about their Spanish-speaking community.

The third group is similar but also more interesting. Silva mentions "the third generation," bilingual speakers that generally are accustomed to and have a preference for media in English. However, they tune into Telemundo 51 because it's what their parents listen to, it's the coverage they're looking for on Latino topics, or because it's simply the best reporting in the market.

T51 is present on Instagram, Twitter, YouTube and Facebook. However, most of its following is on Facebook. The station also has an app, which is available in the app store. All of these platforms, as well as T51's website, are how it connects to and interacts with its audience beyond the broadcasts.

On Twitter, Telemundo has formed a consistent pattern with its content. The station tweets in only one formula: links to articles. The body of the tweets are always written in complete sentences with standard punctuation and grammar, down to the use of periods at the end of each sentence. The journalists also consistently tease the story and then encourage the reader to click the link, saying things like "consulta aquí la lista," "consult this list", or "te lo mostramos," or "we'll show you this". It's important to note the use of the proper noun "tu" here, as this is generally considered the informal or conversational address in some dialects of Spanish, but for many others it is the primary form of "you". T51 tends to use "tu" by default across stories and platforms. One story from April 2020 was titled, "¿Puedes contagiarte dos veces del coronavirus? OMS lanza estudio" which translates to "Can you contract coronavirus twice? WHO launches a study." This is a common headline formula for journalists, but it puts the "tu" form into clear view.

Given broadcast journalism's standard conversational style, T51's use of "tu" as the default is not surprising and plays to the strengths of television news. However, the formulaic structure of the station's tweets doesn't yield itself to much audience engagement or community building, and the use of standard punctuation can seem stiff in a social network setting. A tweet from this account rarely gets more than 10 likes out of its 48,000 followers. The account never replies to comments or content from other accounts. The station account has liked some content from T51 reporters, shows and reporters from other stations, but this seems sporadic or accidental rather than intended to generate engagement.

Although it is not the most heavily-followed of Telemundo 51's social platforms, YouTube is the closest online equivalent to the broadcast show. As one might expect, on this platform, T51 posts mainly clips that have been pulled from the television broadcast. They vary in topic and length, from 30 second entertainment spots to 1.5 hour long press conference recordings. They also tend to have a substantial enough

reach to gain a couple hundred views per video, with some of the more popular packages gaining more than 1,000 likes in less than a week.

All videos follow the same format in a similar way that they did on Twitter. Each video has a thumbnail with the same graphic and an image that aligns to the left to compensate for the graphic. The description is always a few sentences summarizing the package or adding to it, and then details on tuning in to or connecting with the station. There are fewer “calls to action” or commands in these descriptions. There is an end screen, but it simply shows the T51 logo and a recommendation of another video to watch. At no point does the station prompt viewers to like, comment, share or subscribe.

For Instagram, the station uses its account in some similar ways but also diversifies it from their YouTube presence by creating content that is unique to the platform. Nearly all of its Instagram posts are videos, most of which are clips from larger news stories. These posts do not attempt to push followers to the nightly newscast but rather a link to stories in its Instagram bio. Secondly, the sound bites chosen can usually stand alone as informative snippets of information, and the captions are written to both support the footage and provide important context in case the readers have their audio muted.

The station’s Instagram also has a nightly short show posted to its story, which is hosted by reporter Alejandro Isturiz. It is only a few minutes long, but makes use of the “swipe up” feature if anyone wants to watch a longer version. This segment is an easy way for the station to feature five or so stories on social media without directing anyone to a television. It also catches the audience mid-stream, so that while people are tapping through Instagram stories or scrolling through their feed, they get a little bit of news content along the way with minimal active effort necessary.

T51 also consistently tags its reporters on Instagram in posts and stories, allowing the audience to see who is creating the content on their feed and allowing reporters the opportunity to self-promote and interact with the station on social media. This is something that also comes up on the station’s Facebook feed.

Telemundo 51’s Facebook presence is probably the most engaging of its platforms, with a small variety of content being posted and some creative ways of interacting with the audience. During the COVID-19 pandemic, T51 posted a poll on April 13 asking, “¿Consideras que estamos listos para la reapertura del país y regresar a la vida normal?” or, “Do you think we are ready to reopen the country and return to normal life?” T51 pinned this poll to its profile, and in less than 24 hours received more than 1,600 responses, 104 shares, 228 reactions and 192 comments. Most comments were more than a paragraph long, creating a common space for community dialogue on the public health crisis. That, and the results themselves told a story, with 94% answering “No” to the question. The engagement created through this yes or no question created higher engagement than anything else the station had posted all week.

T51 also shares the posts of its reporters on this outlet, creating a direct connection with the content creators. This also boosted a video from a T51 reporter to gain another 4,000 views and diversified the page's content from the majority of posts. When posts become too homogeneous, they appear in people's Facebook feed less often and engagement goes down. In posting diverse content, the audience sees different things more often and is more likely to interact with the page's content again.

An interesting point on language usage is that the sentence structure strongly mirrors that of news outlets in other languages. This call to action from one of T51's Facebook posts directly reflects that point by using an if-then statement that leads into a call to action: "Si te preocupa qué pasará o qué puedes hacer, toma estos valiosos consejos en cuenta," or in English, "If you're worried about what will happen or what you can do, take these valuable tips into account." As with Telemundo 51's other accounts, this also shows the conversational second person with the use of "tu", and we see once again the command verb tense to drive the reader to action.

Women aged 35 to 55 are generally a target demographic for broadcast news stations. They are often considered the "purchasers" of the household for advertisers, and therefore it's easiest to get advertisement revenue when your organization is proven to connect with this demographic. T51 seems to allocate more resources to developing a presence on Facebook and Instagram. These platforms are most popular among this adult female demographic; the strategic focus on these platforms makes sense.

It also makes sense that consistency and video-focused content would be present across all platforms, based on the nature of its work as a news organization. The station's language use consistently leans toward conversational on social media, and often asks for engagement either indirectly through questions or directly through commands. Both conversational language and calls to action are common attributes of broadcast journalism, so their presence comes as no surprise.

Fausto Malave | Reporter/Nightly News Anchor for Telemundo 51

Twitter: @faustomalaveT51

Follower Count: 1981

Facebook: @faustomalave

Follower Count: 18,703

Instagram: @faustomalave

Follower Count: 33.9 Million

Fausto Malave is a news anchor for Telemundo 51 who appears on-air on Monday and Friday nights. He has worked for the station since 2006, and before that he worked for Univision 23 Miami, as well as Venevision in his native country of Venezuela. Although his current position is more of an objective news role, Malave has a history of

working as a political journalist and opinion writer. He also retains a large following among Venezuelans as well as his audience within Miami and South Florida.

As an anchor on a nightly news show, Malave plays the role of a general news reporter who can speak to a variety of topics that differ each time he sits at the desk. He can be seen simply as a general news reporter, so some of his audience is looking specifically for variety in the stories presented. In his posts across all platforms, you can see Malave as a generalist as he posts a wide variety of stories on his platforms, from a native of Miami singing songs while in quarantine to food pickup locations and crime stories.

Because he is originally from Venezuela, Malave also appeals to a Venezuelan audience, who is tuning in from both within Miami and abroad. One large news story he has been following and posting about has been a gasoline shortage in Venezuela, which included reposting videos from the crisis on Facebook and Instagram.

Malave uses a more expressive and conversational style in his online presence. He holds himself in the same manner whether he is reading from a teleprompter or speaking from the heart, but the tone is distinctly different when he is the primary content curator. For example, Malave's shortest posts are generally links to articles, in which the body copy of the post and the headline of the linked article are identical. For other posts, he may express how he feels about a topic or ask rhetorical questions for several sentences. He also shows a tendency to use an ellipsis (...) in place of traditional punctuation or spoken inflection.

Interestingly, one of Fausto's calls to action also differed from the standard. In asking for questions for an Instagram Live about coronavirus, he said "tus preguntas o inquietudes son bienvenidas desde ya..." which translates to, "your questions or concerns are already welcome below..." This is a distinctly passive and gentle method of asking for audience input, which could be attributed to the raw nature of the subject or could more be a result of the reporter asking something of the audience rather than the station.

Another point about Malave's language is that he begins each IGTV session with saying "Hola, ¿que tal? ¿como estan?" which is "hello" and then two forms of "how are you" back to back. One possible translation could be, "hello, how's it going? How are you?" where the "you" addressed a person more formally, and another could be, "hello, how's it going? How are things?" The difference is small, but the first translation assumes Malave is using "usted," which is not the standard for Spanish in the United States or the Spanish used by T51, and would suggest Malave might be used to another standard that shows higher respect or formality to the audience. The second, while less divergent from the standard, is a unique greeting in and of itself, as both questions are rhetorical and the rephrase wouldn't necessarily serve a direct purpose. There is a potential that different groups could say one over the other. However, it

seems unlikely that Malave would intentionally be trying to speak two different versions of Spanish at the same time, especially in an informal setting like Instagram.

That said, the Instagram live and IGTV content that Malave has created is one of the many reasons Instagram is his strongest platform. He engages with audience members there through conversation and discourse in the comments. Even if he doesn't have a reply, he makes an effort to like any comment that someone leaves on one of his posts. He also has received positive comments from other T51 reporters, which builds out his community and makes his posts more likely to appear on Instagram's Discover page.

Additionally, Malave uses his Instagram story to post memes about current topics and announcements of important events happening in the Miami area. This provides content that can exclusively be found through his Instagram account. The posts in his feed are reposted on Facebook and linked on his Twitter. He occasionally posts content directly to Facebook, but never tweets anything other than links to other content. The amount of engagement is directly reflected in Malave's follower count, which is vastly higher on Instagram than any of his other platforms. The difference is stark, and it is clear to see why. Malave almost exclusively likes to interact with his audience via Instagram.

This preference toward Instagram can be seen as somewhat strategic. Journalists might feel overwhelmed at the prospect of curating several separate and unique social media feeds, all with original content. They have other work tasks that might take priority, and if their audience primarily uses only one platform, it might not make sense to devote a lot of time to all social media platforms. What Fausto does is intended to draw traffic away from his other accounts and toward stories or the platform he primarily uses. This is why his Twitter feed is almost entirely story links and shared Instagram posts. The same goes for Facebook. While he might have a little bit of a following or occasionally use his Facebook page for something specific to that platform, for the most part he is just trying to share his Instagram content and links to stories on the T51 website. His overall media strategy is to curate one platform in its entirety and drive traffic from any other platform to the most essential locations for his content.

Leana Astorga | News Reporter for Telemundo 51

Twitter: @LeanaAT51

Follower Count: 4,214

Facebook: @LeanaAstorga

Follower Count: 179,000

Instagram: @leanaastorga

Follower Count: 42,000

Leana Astorga has been a reporter with Telemundo 51 since 2012. Before that, she worked as a reporter for a show called “Primera Hora,” which had a large Nicaraguan following. That audience seems to have stayed with her as she moved on to other stations and projects. She is still seen as a reliable voice for Nicaraguan news. This makes her a bit of an asset for stories on Nicaragua because she is seen as a native within a community that is looking for trustworthy news about its home country.

A portion of Astorga’s audience also seems to be following her on the basis of her appearance. Unlike many other female reporters, Astorga doesn’t tend to post content that relates to her life outside of her work. If she has a spouse or children, they do not make online appearances. If she spends a lot of time with friends or doing hobbies, they are not part of her professional account. Instead, Astorga’s content focuses on the stories she reports and the events she attends on behalf of the station.

Astorga posts frequently for Instagram, with most posts being selfies of her on the scene or videos of her packages. She also makes use of her stories, but some of them have less context than others. For example, she has two highlights on her profile page. Both have only one story on them, and neither has any sort of caption to give context. Her photos do get around 400-900 likes, and a few of her posts receive genuine comments that relate to the content she has posted. She writes some of her story captions like television teasers, such as, “Question? Find out tonight at 5 on T51!”

Astorga’s posts on Facebook are similar, in that many of them are the same post shared on the linked platforms. Many of her posts are either plugging the 5 o’clock show or posting her packages, but she does post about her public appearances as well. For example she posted a few updates from the Coconut Grove Art Festival onto her Facebook feed. Most of her posts have a call to action or a poke for engagement, like “who’s tuning in tonight?” or “come by and see me at the table!”

Her Nicaraguan audience appears on all forms of social media Astorga has. People comment “viva nicaragua!” on her selfies and have been the main source of engagement on her otherwise relatively quiet Twitter account. For example, on April 7, she posted on Facebook, “Que el #covid19 no nos impida disfrutar de este maravilloso regalo de la naturaleza #supermoon,” or “Even covid-19 can’t keep us from enjoying this marvelous gift of nature #supermoon.” The photos are clearly taken from a phone camera, potentially from her back porch, and show a bright and distant moon over

Miami's palm trees and what appears to be the intercoastal. In the comments, one person replied with " Asi de bella esta en nuestra Nicaragua...Dios nos proteja ante tanta necesida q tenemos en estos tiempos dificiles.....🙏🙏🙏" or, "It's as beautiful in our Nicaragua... God protects us in the face of all the needs we have in this difficult time." This commenter was one of several that directly mentioned tuning in from Nicaragua or being Nicaraguan.

This post has an interestingly effective amount of engagement with over 30 comments that night, many of which were people replying with their own photos of the supermoon. Astorga could have very well even further benefited from this traffic by going through and liking or replying to a few of the contributions. That said, even without taking that next step, it's clear Astorga has built a pretty consistent and engaged following through her reporter Facebook page.

Comments on her appearance account for a heavy portion of engagement across the board, with increased comments on any post with her face. These commenters seem to be consistent audience members. While the things they are saying are meant to indicate that she is beautiful, they are somewhat negative in nature, in that they tend to objectify or sexualize her and many are bordering on creepy. Part of Astorga's lack of community engagement in the comments might be attributed to an attempt at avoiding the less desirable commenters. This is a delicate line to walk because while the comments are often verging on inappropriate, they also boost her audience engagement and spread her content further on Facebook's platform to people that might align with her content differently from her creepy commenters. On Instagram, a clip of one of her packages might get four comments, whereas a photo of Astorga herself will get upwards of 30 or 40. The difference in engagement is so stark that there's a chance the Instagram algorithm might pick up those posts and put them on the discover page for more people to find.

Astorga shows distinctly different personalities on each of her social platforms. On Instagram, her profile photo is of her in a bold red lip standing in front of the Roman Coliseum. On Facebook, it is a selfie of her in a Coronavirus mask. On Twitter, it is a professional headshot where she is staring with seriousness into the camera. The content also shifts from platform to platform. For example, on Twitter, most of Astorga's tweets and retweets are stories about Nicaragua. She has begun tweeting more frequently since march, and done live tweets of press conferences for Miami-Dade county. On Facebook, she's reposted Instagram content and links to her stories, but she's also participated in a few "challenges" like a throwback photo of her as a child in Nicaragua. The photo of, as her caption described, "La pequeña Leana en su natal Nicaragua," gained nearly 4000 reactions and 228 comments.

The word "orgullo" or "pride" comes up frequently in the comments of posts about her being from Nicaragua. Ownership of nationality seems to play a big part in building community in Astorga's audience. This was present for Malave as well with his native

country of Venezuela. There is power in the phrase “mi natal nicaragua”, and Astorga can use that as a reporter to make her relationship with her audience stronger, and build trust for stories that affect that audience the most.

Media Analysis of El Nuevo Herald

Overall Publication

Twitter: @elnuevoherald

Follower Count: 492, 300 (MH 465,000)

Facebook: @elnuevoherald

Follower Count: 398,254 (MH 356,730)

Instagram:@elnuevoherald

Follower Count: 36,300 (MH 115,000)

El Nuevo Herald is the premier Spanish newspaper in the Miami area. Its print circulation reaches all of Miami-Dade, Broward and Monroe counties. Newspaper readers tend to be a little older, and as the publication is a Spanish newspaper, it is safe to assume that older native Spanish speakers are the primary demographic that reads El Nuevo Herald. The online edition probably has a variation to this demographic which skews a little younger and might appeal to the same bilingual and English-prefering audience that was mentioned by Telemundo 51.

In a phone interview in March, El Nuevo Herald editor Abel Hernandez said that the paper writes in Latin American Spanish, and uses the Royal Academic Rules of Spain for any points of confusion. The audience of the paper is rooted in Latin American Spanish speakers, but that can become a large group of diverse speakers very quickly. Hernandez said, “we don’t use any specific dialect. Whenever we write a story, we try to write in a way any dialect can understand.” He also mentioned the paper having a mostly Cuban and Venezuelan audience.

Notably, the Miami Herald and El Nuevo Herald are owned by the same company and operate jointly, but are two distinct newsrooms with separate staff for each publication. Often, Spanish editions of larger publications are simply translations of articles or the occasional Spanish-first content. With the Miami Herald and El Nuevo Herald this is distinctly not the case. They share some reporters, sources and quotes, or translate for one another and collaborate on certain articles, but the publications themselves act as independent entities.

A concrete example of this is the difference in branding and social media presence between the two. Both publications create their content separately, so their feeds are uniquely different from one another and apply different structures in their strategy. On Twitter, El Nuevo Herald consistently posts in the same format multiple times per hour. The format is a simple article link, the caption of which is the same as

the headline for the piece. The Miami Herald, on the other hand, changes their tweet captions to give a little more information or try to draw the reader in to click on their link. El Nuevo Herald has a slightly larger following on Twitter and Facebook than the Miami Herald, but that relationship is switched on Instagram, where the Miami Herald takes the lead.

On Twitter, El Nuevo Herald is consistent in posting a link to an article every 15 minutes. This strategy is likely used so that its posts don't get lost in Twitter's constant stream. It's unlikely that someone would see every single article that El Nuevo Herald tweets, so posting more increases the likelihood of one of its followers seeing any of its content at all. However, these posts are not optimized, meaning their captions and the article headline are almost always identical. The publication does translate some of the key terms into hashtags in the tweet, meaning that a story about Cuba and the coronavirus might be more discoverable because people are looking through the coronavirus hashtag.

On this platform, the publication does not really interact with any of its followers, and the information stream only flows in one direction. There might be the occasional reply to a story or more likes and retweets on breaking news, but El Nuevo Herald does not make much use of Twitter's interactive features.

On Facebook, posts have been slightly more optimized, often using the lead paragraph of the story as the caption for article links. This method works well for Facebook, as there is a higher character limit than other platforms, but there is still a pretty low likelihood of audience members clicking on the link and reading the entire article. By answering nutgraph questions in the social media post, El Nuevo Herald opens up the possibility that readers can be somewhat informed of the news without necessarily navigating to their website.

On Facebook, the publication also opens up to sharing some of its more visual storytelling elements. One such post that could stand on its own is a video of different K-12 students in the Miami area talking about how they feel learning from home. The caption gives the audience members all of the information a viewer might need, saying, "Reportajes visuales: ¿Y qué opinan los niños sobre las clases a distancia?", or in English, "Visual Report: And what do kids think about the distance classes?" The video itself is a series of students answering the question that has been posed. Some talk about learning better, some talk about missing their friends and favorite teachers. One boy mentions getting to play video games once he has completed his work. This sort of content can be linked to a longer video or text-based story, but it can also stand on its own as an independent piece of digital content. Another example of this was a video from an animal shelter in Palm Beach that was completely emptied with adoptions. The short video of empty kennels and workers cheering got over 550 shares on Facebook in less than a day.

People also tend to engage more with El Nuevo Herald on Facebook. Comments tend to be longer and more factual than on other platforms, some of which even include statistics from outside sources to back the commenter's opinions. The majority of comments appear on political posts, which is standard for most publications.

On Instagram, all of El Nuevo Herald's photo captions use standard journalistic caption structure, answering the "who, what, when, where and why?" first and foremost. There is also a call to action on every photo, but this usually comes after the essential information has been shared. One post from April 2, 2020 makes use of rhetorical questions to lead into their call to action.

*"...Todos nos estamos preguntando: ¿Puedo salir de mi casa? ¿Dónde puedo comprar comida? ¿Puedo viajar? ¿Cómo afecta esto a la vida cotidiana? ¿Qué es lo que no puedo hacer? ¿Cuáles son las repercusiones si rompo las reglas?📌
Publicamos un artículo con respuestas a las preguntas sobre la nueva orden de confinamiento en Florida.📌
📌 Para leer la nota, haz click en el enlace en nuestro perfil..."*

In English,

*"...All of us are asking: Can I leave my house? Where can I buy food? Can I travel? How does this affect my daily life? What can't I do? What are the repercussions if I break the rules?
We've published an article with responses to these questions after the new confinement order in Florida.
To read this piece, click the link in our profile..."*

In this example, El Nuevo Herald creates empathy in its captions as its audience goes through hard times. The caption exhibits non-standard traits, but it was clearly written uniquely for the context of this post, and comes from a genuine place.

Another stylistic choice of El Nuevo Herald is the use of emojis, tags and hashtags in the publication's Instagram captions. These serve to break up the visual chunk of the caption, distinguish hierarchy between different pieces of information, and push Instagram to drive users to their content.

One call to action is a perfect example of the utility emojis have for El Nuevo Herald on this platform. The publication wrote, "Visita nuestra BIO para 👁️ más reportajes visuales," which translates to "visit our bio to 👁️ more visual reports." The publication could have used the verb "ver", or "to see" in place of the eyes emoji, but the emoji draws the eye to the sentence, makes the viewer think more about what is being said, and therefore increases the likelihood that a user will actually navigate to the bio and look at the article that this caption mentions. There's also a lighthearted nature to

the use of emojis which skews the Instagram captions toward a more informal and conversational tone.

Every Instagram post from El Nuevo Herald also tags everyone involved in the production of that image. If the people mentioned in that caption then share that post on their own Instagram stories, like the post or comment on it, the algorithm for this social media platform places higher importance on interactions between these two entities. The more a reporter or photographer interacts with El Nuevo Herald, the more both the reporter and the publication will appear on Discover pages and suggested posts for users in that community. Discoverability is also a major driver for the use of hashtags. If people search one of the hashtags mentioned in the caption, that post has a higher likelihood of reaching people interested in that subject. Both of these play a big role in creating community engagement. A publication wants its audience members to interact because that feedback lets the publication know that their information is getting out to the people it's being created for.

Overall, El Nuevo Herald as a publication has a similar tone to that of a city publication or other national and international publications like the Washington Post or Los Angeles Times. There is more formality in its speaking than that of broadcast journalism, but the language is often more creatively focused. For example, one Facebook post linking to an article about small businesses waiting on loans from the federal government writes simply “Linda Kaplan todavía está esperando,” which translates to “Linda Kaplan is still waiting”. This is the first line of the article, which goes on to explain that Linda Kaplan is an immigration attorney in Miami. This creative choice of lede could potentially draw people in with the question, “who is Linda Kaplan?” It could also have the opposite effect, and there's a third potential that Linda Kaplan is enough of a high-profile immigration attorney that hers is nearly a household name. Regardless, there was creative license taken with this short story tease in hopes that the audience will read the article title and maybe even click through to the publication's website.

Jimena Tavel | *Reporter for El Nuevo Herald and the Miami Herald*

Twitter: @taveljimena

Follower Count: 2,033

Instagram: @taveljimena

Follower Count: 1,471

Jimena Tavel is a young reporter from the Miami area. She graduated from the University of Florida in 2018, and has since worked in both the Miami Herald and El Nuevo Herald newsrooms as a bilingual reporter. She most recently joined the Miami Herald education beat during the COVID-19 crisis, but before that was primarily a general news reporter for El Nuevo Herald.

Because Tavel is a young journalist at the beginning of her career, she probably has yet to establish much of an online presence or develop a substantial reputation among her audience. This is likely why she has such a low number of followers as compared to other journalists in the Miami area. Currently, her audience consists mainly of people who know her personally, with a potential growth in those numbers coming from people that find her accounts through the publications that are now tagging her on a regular basis.

Tavel also has a direct split in tone and voice between her two public social media accounts, Twitter and Instagram. On Twitter, her content focuses primarily on journalistic subjects. She shares stories from herself or her coworkers, she live-tweets breaking news information and she shares different voices on what's happening in Florida at any given time. One example is the recent deaths of two Florida inmates from COVID-19. Tavel retweeted the original link to an article, then proceeded to retweet different updates and opinions from that story throughout the afternoon. Tavel occasionally breaks from the more professional content with a touch of humor. One of her tweets read "I was 20 three years ago so I'm not sharing a photo", in light of a recent trend for sharing photos on social media of yourself at age 20.

For Tavel's Instagram, the content is more within a lifestyle niche. The most "work-related" content she posts is generally a share of her article links in her Instagram story or a picture of her with her coworkers in the newsroom having fun together. Other than that, her feed is predominantly photos of her and friends out together, photos of the beach or photos of what she is eating, reading or painting with her partner. This content is undoubtedly an authentic and personal view of this journalist's life.

On both Instagram and Twitter, a large portion of her audience are bilingual speakers of both English and Spanish, and this is directly reflected in the content she posts. On her Instagram profile page, Tavel has collections of Instagram stories from each month of 2019 and 2020. The three most recent months are labeled in Spanish, with the rest being in English. It's possible that this was mainly because the application won't let users name multiple stories the same thing, but use of Spanish and English at the top of her profile serves a latent purpose of immediately letting users know that Tavel is bilingual. This is reiterated through the content she posts both on her feed and in her stories, which is almost a direct 50:50 split between English and Spanish.

On her Instagram stories, she posts conversationally and sometimes types in a shortened way that mimics text messaging. Tavel also sometimes shares screenshots of messages with friends that she finds funny. This builds a stylistic standard on her Instagram of incredibly casual and conversational language. On Twitter, Tavel is only slightly more formal, with more frequent use of complete sentences and punctuation. The formality of her language is almost in direct relation to the subject matter. She also makes sure to tweet important information in both English and Spanish. For example, she posted "El presidente interino de @MDCollege, Rolando Montoya, acaba de decir

en un foro de educación que espera que MDC reciba más estudiantes de Latinoamérica tras la crisis del COVID-19, ya que el aprendizaje en línea mejorará y la gente en esa región tiene una conexión con Miami.” moments after tweeting the same in English, “Dr. Rolando Montoya, interim president of @MDCollege, just said in an education forum he expects MDC to receive more students from Latin America after the COVID-19 crisis is over, considering remote learning will grow and people in that region have a connection to Miami.”

Although her audience is still a relatively small circle, Tavel does manage to get a fairly impressive amount of engagement with certain pieces of her content. For example, the previously mentioned tweet about her unwillingness to post a photo of herself at age 20 resulted in six replies either in agreement or with comments of “wow, I’m old” within a single day, primarily from peers in her field, other journalists. The tweet received 26 likes within one day, which is a higher amount of engagement than most tweets that El Nuevo Herald sends out to its more than 492,000 followers.

Tavel also makes use of Instagram’s share feature to share posts from El Nuevo Herald’s account to her story, which is the exact type of journalist-publication engagement that, as previously mentioned, bumps up content’s importance in the Instagram algorithm. On top of that, whenever she posts on either platform about her coworkers or her job, she tags them accordingly, so that they may practice the same amount of sharing on their end.

Antonio Maria Delgado | *Reporter and Columnist for El Nuevo Herald*

Twitter: @DelgadoAntonioM

Follower Count: 31,500

Facebook: @DelgadoAntonioM

Follower Count: 271

Antonio Delgado is a reporter and columnist writing about news and politics, especially those of Venezuela. He has worked at El Nuevo Herald for the past 13 years. He is most well-known for his in-depth reporting of Venezuelan government and his opinion pieces on the subject.

Delgado’s audience is rooted in the Venezuelan community but more specifically in the part of that community that is interested in political analysis. Delgado tends to share and discuss other pieces of news, but for the most part he stays within his reporting beat and covers primarily stories on the Venezuelan political climate.

This reporter is a bit harder to track down online and through social media. He has not posted on his Facebook page in nearly two years and his presence on Twitter is intermittent. Some days, he will post links to four different articles. Other days, he won’t post anything at all.

Because of his position, Delgado routinely uses strong language in his tweets, headlines and stories. One headline, for example, reads “sobornos, sobrepagos y traición marcan juicio en Miami contra chavista Motta Dominguez” which in English means “Bribery, surcharges and treachery mark trial in Miami against Chavista Motta Dominguez.” From this headline alone, we can see that Motta Dominguez is apparently being set-up unjustly. Potent headlines are nothing new for political reporters, so this is very fitting for the beat Delgado works.

Delgado is not particularly engaging with his online presence. Most of his posts are simply sharing news stories. Occasionally, he does get a jump in engagement. The chavista on trial story received 27 retweets and 19 likes. However, most of his posts fly under the radar. This could be because Delgado’s audience isn’t particularly online either. The people who want to read or hear from him might look elsewhere for his content or they simply don’t pay attention to the bylines on the story.

There are other alternatives to his audience engagement, though. Delgado has appeared on-air for interviews and to give his opinion on shows like BAYLY in 2018 and CNN in 2014. He is treated as a definitive expert in his field as a columnist and a knowledgeable voice on Venezuelan politics. That reputation goes beyond what you see online, suggesting that some reporters still maintain success using more traditional methods of audience interaction.

Discussion

In examining these two outlets and their reporters online, we see consistencies in style and wide variations in tone and execution. Part of this variation comes from audiences. For example, both Telemundo 51’s Fausto Malave and El Nuevo Herald’s Antonio Delgado have a background in Venezuelan political reporting, and both have a tendency to use powerful or somewhat opinionated perspectives. However, some variation seems to come from external factors, like Jamina Tavel’s unique voice and consistency on social media potentially being derived from her young age.

There are key differences between these two outlets that create distinctions in their media presences. The first of these differences, and most obvious is the divide between print and broadcast. It is no secret that broadcast news tends to take a more conversational approach, but moreover, there are differences in strategy that are founded in each medium. Both reporters from T51 had their largest following on Instagram, and used that platform for the most clear representation of their curated content. As reporters that work closely with video content and appear regularly on broadcast television, the logical choice of social media platforms would be the one that plays to their visual strengths. On the other hand, while El Nuevo Herald, as an overall outlet, makes a strong show of its Instagram presence, it surpasses Telemundo 51 in followers on Twitter exclusively. On top of that, both of the El Nuevo Herald reporters examined in this analysis used Twitter as their primary point of contact for journalistic

content with their audiences. While Tavel also consistently posted and talked about her workplace on Instagram, Twitter was the platform she most used to deliver news directly to the public.

It also appears that El Nuevo Herald staff may have fewer social media requirements in their contracts, as Telemundo 51 staff members consistently had some sort of presence across the board; but for El Nuevo Herald, platforms were less consistently maintained. Each news organization takes a different approach, but it is interesting to see some social media strategy coming from El Nuevo Herald reporters if there are no requirements in place.

We also see certain standardization practices across all of these media platforms. The “call to action” is a common ending among journalists. There’s often an action item to anything being posted, and the content creator sees a need to push that action into existence a little bit. There are a few ways this has become consistent over time, like “if/then” statements (if you want to find out more, click the link below!) , or question and answer (want to learn more? Tune in at 5 p.m. to find out!). We saw these on outlet pages as well as in reporter posts, and they are frequently used by English news outlets as well. This language-based consistency is probably the product of language users seeing success in these formats and using them for their own purposes until the structure became commonplace. This assimilation is often how new linguistic features arise in a population and become consistent until they are eventually absorbed into what is considered the “standard.” For journalists, these formulaic structures may not be part of any required stylebook, but they are certainly standard practice, as an unspoken rule.

On the other end, journalists are often seen as one of the standardizing institutions of language. As Colleen Cotter described in her book, journalistic language sees use of standard grammatical language as a sign of competency and objectivity. However, it also takes influence from the audience where creative license allows (Cotter, 2010). For example, T51 may use “Standard Latin American Spanish,” but that does not mean a reporter will not pronounce vowels a bit differently on-air or slip in the use of the word “usted” during an Instagram live video. El Nuevo Herald may go through its articles with a fine-toothed comb, but reporters can still offer up creative commentary once that story reaches their Twitter accounts. This fluidity in language is partially the reporters building trust and camaraderie with their audience, but it is also partially a product of the audience joining the conversation for ostensibly the first time in journalism history. For Spanish journalists in the Miami area, there is an added layer of complexity to this relationship as so many different dialects and strong cultures are now in that mix.

Conclusion

There is clearly variety in the language used by Spanish journalists in the Miami media market. These differences arise for a multitude of reasons, and sometimes for no

reason at all. Each approach has its own costs and benefits, but all have a place in Miami journalism.

As this analysis has only been conducted over a small data set and a short amount of time, there is still much room for research to be done on dialect variation and the Spanish news media in Miami. As is mentioned by Carter & Lynch (2015), Miami is a linguistically rich and largely untapped area for Spanish language research. There is much to be learned by looking into the language diversity that has helped to shape this South Florida city, and the research that has been conducted here represents only a fraction of what is possible.

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Office of Research Integrity
Institutional Review Board (IRB)
2000 University Avenue
Muncie, IN 47306-0155
Phone: 765-285-5052
Email: orihelp@bsu.edu

DATE: November 26, 2019

TO: Bailey Shelton

FROM: Ball State University IRB

RE: IRB protocol # 1459752-2

TITLE: Spanish Dialects of Miami and Perceptions of News Media

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

DECISION: APPROVED

PROJECT STATUS: EXEMPT

DECISION DATE: November 26, 2019

REVIEW TYPE: Exempt Review

The designated reviewer for the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed your protocol and determined the procedures you have proposed are appropriate for exemption under the federal regulations. As such, there will be no further review of your protocol, and you are cleared to proceed with the procedures outlined in your protocol. As an exempt study, there is no requirement for continuing review. Your protocol will remain on file with the IRB as a matter of record. All research under this protocol must be conducted in accordance with the approved submission and in accordance with the principles of the Belmont Report.

Exempt Categories:

	Category 1: Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, that specifically involves normal educational practices that are not likely to adversely impact students' opportunity to learn required educational content or the assessment of educators who provide instruction. This includes most research on regular and special education instructional strategies, and research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
ii	Category 2: Research that only includes interactions involving educational test (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording) if at least one of the following criteria is met: (i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (ii) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside

	the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (iii) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the humans subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by 46.111(a)(7).
	Category 3: Research involving benign behavioral interventions in conjunction with the collection of information from an adult subject through verbal or written responses (including data entry) or audiovisual recording if the subject prospectively agrees to the intervention and information collection and at least one of the following criteria is met: (A) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of human subjects cannot be readily ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (B) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (C) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can be readily ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by 46.111(a)(7).
	Category 4: Secondary research for which consent is not required.
	Category 5: Research and demonstration projects that are conducted or supported by a Federal department or agency, or otherwise subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and that are designed to study, evaluate, improve, or otherwise examine public benefit or service programs, including procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs, possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures, or possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.
	Category 6: Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.
	Category 7: Storage or maintenance for secondary research for which broad consent is required: Storage or maintenance of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens for potential secondary research use if an IRB conducts a limited IRB review and makes the determinations required by 46.111(a)(8).
	Category 8: Secondary research for which broad consent is required: Research involving the use of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens for secondary research use, if the following criteria are met: (1) Broad consent for the storage, maintenance, and secondary research use of the identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens was obtained in accordance with §46.116(a)(1) through (4), (a)(6), and (d); (2) Documentation of informed consent or waiver of documentation of consent was obtained in accordance with §46.117; and (3) An IRB conducts a limited IRB review and makes the determination required by §46.111(a)(7) and makes the determination that the research to be conducted is within the scope of the broad consent referenced in paragraph (d)(8)(i) of this section; and (iv) The investigator does not include returning individual research results to participants as part of the study plan. Note: This provision does not prevent an investigator from abiding by any legal requirements to return individual research results.

Ball State Specific Exempt Categories

	Category 9: Research involving publicly observable online behavior. Any online behavior that requires a person's permission to access is considered private and does not fall under this category. Information that cannot be accessed by the general population would also be considered private.
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	Category 10: Research involving BSU students who are under 18 but have legal authority over their FERPA protected information. Only studies that fall into another exempt category except for sampling from BSU students who are under 18 can be considered exempt in this category.
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While your project does not require continuing review, it is the responsibility of the P.I. (and, if applicable, faculty supervisor) to inform the IRB if the procedures presented in this protocol are to be modified or if problems related to human research participants arise in connection with this project. **Any procedural modifications must be evaluated by the IRB before being implemented, as some modifications may change the review status of this project.** Please contact Grace Yoder at (765) 285-5034 or gmyoder@bsu.edu if you are unsure whether your proposed modification requires review or have any questions. Proposed modifications should be addressed in writing and submitted electronically to the IRBNet as a "Modification/Amendment" for review. Please reference your IRB protocol number 1459752-2 in any communication to the IRB regarding this project.

In the case of an adverse event and/or unanticipated problem, you will need to submit written documentation of the event to IRBNet under this protocol number and you will need to directly notify the Office of Research Integrity (<http://www.bsu.edu/irb>) **within 5 business days**. If you have questions, please contact Grace Yoder at (765) 285-5034 or gmyoder@bsu.edu.

Reminder: Even though your study is exempt from the relevant federal regulations of the Common Rule (45 CFR 46, subpart A), Ball State has elected to hold you accountable to these regulations to encourage best research practices. You and your research team are not exempt from ethical research practices and should therefore employ all protections for your participants and their data which are appropriate to your project.